

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-08 INR-10 LAB-04
NSAE-00 SIL-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 /080 W
-----039843 191708Z /46/

R 181841Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1753
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL NICE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG

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USEEC

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: ELAB, FR
SUBJECT: THE SOCIAL BAROMETER: FALLING?

REF: (A) PARIS 14344, (B) PARIS 11705

1. SUMMARY: THE LONG AWAITED RETURN TO COLLECTIVE
BARGAINING IS MOVING MORE SLOWLY THAN HOPED, AND
NOTHING MUCH IN THE WAY OF RESULTS IS EXPECTED
BEFORE THE FALL. HOWEVER, BOTH PRICES AND UNEM-
PLOYMENT ARE RISING BRISKLY, AND THERE ARE SIGNS
THAT THE AVERAGE MAN'S PATIENCE IS NOT LIMITLESS.
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ALL THIS MEANS THAT THE END OF AUTUMN COULD SEE
THE GOVERNMENT'S SOCIAL INITIATIVE STALL, AND THE
BAD OLD DAYS RETURN. END SUMMARY.

2. PREDICTABLY, THE POST-ELECTION HOPES FOR IMME-
DIATE PROGRESS IN THE SOCIAL FIELD ARE BEGINNING TO
WEAR THIN. THE CFDT'S DECISION TO RETURN TO BARGAIN-

ING AS OPPOSED TO POLITICAL ACTION, FACILITATED THE MEANS FOR RESOLVING SOME OF THE CHIEF ISSUES DIVIDING LABOR, MANAGEMENT, AND THE GOVERNMENT. BUT THE DIFFERENCES THEMSELVES REMAIN UNSETTLED, AND PROGRESS AT GETTING THE BARGAINING PROCESS STARTED UP AGAIN HAS BEEN PECULIARLY SLOW. AS OF THIS DATE, SOME TWO MONTHS AFTER THE ELECTIONS AND THE CFDT'S SWITCH IN LINE, THERE IS STILL ONLY TENTATIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MAJOR UNIONS AND THE EMPLOYERS ON HOW THEIR NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO PROCEED; AND EVEN THE REFORMISTS ARE TAKING THEIR GOOD TIME IN CONSULTING WITH EACH, IN ADVANCE. (THE INITIAL COORDINATING SESSIONS AMONGST THESE UNIONS WILL NOT BE OVER UNTIL THE FIRST WEEK IN JUNE.)

3. IN PART, THIS SITUATION REFLECTS THE COMPLEXITY OF THE BARGAINING SITUATION. EVERYONE RECOGNIZES THAT THE GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION DOES NOT PERMIT MUCH MANEUVER ON WAGE ISSUES, AND NO BIG BREAK THROUGH IS EXPECTED. COMPLICATING MATTERS STILL FURTHER IS THE GOVERNMENT'S INDIRECT REFUSAL TO MAKE THE LEGAL MINIMUM WAGE A DIRECTLY NEGOTIABLE ITEM. ALL THIS PUTS MORE PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES' NON-WAGE TARGETS: VACATIONS, WORKING CONDITIONS, AND SUPPLEMENTAL INSURANCE BENEFITS, WITH LABOR'S DEMANDS FOR MORE BEING COUNTERED BY MANAGEMENT'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CALLS FOR "GIVE-BACKS"; AND FOR THE FIRST TIME IN A LONG WHILE, THE EMPLOYERS ARE TAKING THE INITIATIVE IN PROPOSING WHAT IS TO BE BARGAINED OVER.

4. MORE FUNDAMENTALLY, HOWEVER, THE BARGAINING CLIMATE IS BEING INFLUENCED BY THE WIDESPREAD BELIEF THAT THERE ARE ELEMENTS IN BOTH BUSINESS AND LABOR WHO DON'T WANT TO SEE ANY BIG "BREAKTHROUGH" ON THE SOCIAL FRONT. (THIS IS QUITE APART FROM THE OPPOSITION OF THE SMALL BUSINESS ORGANIZATION TO HAVING BIG BUSINESS NEGOTIATE FOR IT.) MANY TRADE UNIONISTS, AND SOME PATRONAT OFFICIALS, PRIVATELY EXPRESS THEIR CONCERN THAT WITHIN THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY THERE ARE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT THE PRESERVATION OF THE STATUS QUO IS IN THEIR FINANCIAL INTERESTS. SIMILARLY, THERE ARE ELEMENTS IN SOME OF THE UNIONS (AND NOT JUST THE CGT) WHICH DESIRE NO REAL RELAXATION OF SOCIAL TENSIONS. THESE TWO GROUPS, EACH FOR ITS OWN REASONS, HAVE NO INTEREST IN SEEING A TRIUMPH FOR "REFORMISM" AND COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AND ARE SUSPECTED OF INTENDING TO MAKE THE NEGOTIATIONS AS DIFFICULT AS POSSIBLE.

ONLY THE MOST CAREFUL PREPARATIONS ARE SEEN AS BEING
ABLE TO COUNTER THAT KIND OF NEGATIVE INFLUENCE.

5. COMPLICATING MATTERS IS THE FACT THAT THE

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USEEC

NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOT TAKING PLACE IN A VACUUM. THE
GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED SHARP RISES IN THE PRICE
OF SERVICES DIRECTLY AFFECTING EVERYONE (MAIL AND
TELEPHONE RATES, TRAIN FARES, ETC.), AND THE PRICES
OF GOODS, INCLUDING FOOD, ALSO ARE CLIMBING.
FURTHER, THERE HAS BEEN AN EROSION IN THE OVERALL
EMPLOYMENT SITUATION AS A NUMBER OF PLANTS, IN THE
POST-ELECTION PERIOD, HAVE ANNOUNCED LAYOFFS OR
CLOSURES. THE GOVERNMENT HAS TRIED TO COUNTER
THESE PSYCHOLOGICAL SHOCKS BY STRESSING THAT IT
INTENDS TO MAINTAIN PURCHASING POWER, AND IN THE

CASE OF THE LOWEST PAID WORKERS, RAISE IT; AND THAT
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A NEW NATIONAL PACT FOR EMPLOYMENT WILL BE INTRODUCED. BUT THE SHOCKS REMAIN, AND THERE IS SMALL COMFORT IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT SOME OF THE PRICE INCREASES ARE EARMARKED TO PAY FOR THE UNEMPLOYMENT PROGRAM.

6. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, THERE IS SOME APPREHENSION OVER SIGNS THAT THE AVERAGE MAN'S PATIENCE WITH THE PRESENT SITUATION IS NOT UNLIMITED. THERE HAS BEEN A FAIRLY EFFECTIVE BUS STRIKE IN PARIS; SCATTERED, SMALL, BUT NASTY INCIDENTS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR; AND SOME SIGNS OF GROWING MILITANCY WITHIN THE PUBLIC SECTOR. THE REAL DANGER, HOWEVER, LIES NOT WITH ANY THREAT OF A WAVE OF STRIKES, BUT RATHER WITH THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S SOCIAL INITIATIVE MAY BECOME DISCREDITED. AS HAS BEEN NOTED, THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE PROCEEDING SLOWLY, AND ARE UNLIKELY TO GET DOWN TO BUSINESS UNTIL SEPTEMBER. IF THESE SESSIONS PRODUCE LITTLE, OR NOTHING, THERE IS DANGER OF A BACKLASH. IN THAT CONNECTION, IT IS INTERESTING THAT THERE IS WIDESPREAD SKEPTICISM AMONGST THE REFORMISTS AS TO THE EXTENT AND SINCERITY OF THE CFDT'S COMMITMENT TO THE SUCCESS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS; AND IN SOME CASES A REAL FEAR THAT THAT UNION MAY SABOTAGE THEM SO AS TO DISCREDIT NOT ONLY THE GOVERNMENT BUT THE REFORMIST UNIONS AS WELL. THUS, EVEN WITHIN FORCE OUVRIERE, THERE IS SOME PRIVATE CONCERN THAT GENERAL SECRETARY BERGERON HAS ALREADY PLACED TOO MUCH CONFIDENCE IN THE GOOD FAITH OF THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY, AND THE WILLINGNESS AND ABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO INSURE THAT PROGRESS IS MADE. IF THESE SKEPTICS ARE RIGHT, LATE FALL MAY SEE THE LABOR SCENE IN FRANCE BACK TO WHERE

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IT WAS A YEAR AGO.
HARTMAN

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